/151 cont./

438 objects of exchange: veld food, meat, articles of clothing, and utilitarian objects. It appears that barter is also carried out in a smaller circle. To the "child of the moment," something different is always preferred.

[443] Markets are not held.

The chains of ostrich egg shells have a certain fixed value [435] since they are highly coveted. A leaf [Platte] of tobacco likewise has a fixed value.

/152/ This means that under all circumstances, wherever [436] one goes, both tobacco and chains can be traded. Only in this sense is it possible to speak of money substitutes. I am convinced that with a sufficient number of tobacco leaves [Plattentabak] in one's pocket, and without any provisions, one can live by barter, that is, if the Bushman himself happens to have anything.

The only things that one might not be able to obtain from the Auin in exchange for tobacco are lance points.

804 The Auin is unacquainted with our custom of indicating length with two fingers of one or both hands. Length is indicated by pointing with one finger to the index finger of the other hand or to a stick.

A "fathom" is indicated by extending both arms, in a manner similar to ours.

As a "dry measure" they use one or both cupped hands, the latter held close together.

Another dry measure is made by crooking the arm and filling the hollow between the arm and chest with a cloth, or both arms are crooked with the hands fastened together in front of the body and the hollow is filled with a cloth.

We also have the saying "an armful."

The hide cap is also used for measuring.

As rough as the measures are, they nonetheless appear to have a certain, though naturally quite inexact validity. I have observed how a Bushman exchanged "an armful" of veld food for tobacco. The owner of the tobacco did not deem the goods he received sufficient, and the other had to add "a handful."

Weights are estimated. Naturally, an object for comparison is always present.

Weights are estimated, as among us, by briefly lifting the weights to be compared, one after the other. Even the accompanying

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
FX13 Hottentot
Bushmen FX10

177 439 they are no longer self-sufficient. Contact with other peoples has made them familiar with various articles, especially iron and tobacco, which they now covet very greatly and in order to obtain which they carry on an extensive system of barter. Even within the band itself [437] there is a good deal of barter in such things as meat, clothing, veldkos, and utensils. Berries and roots, for example, are exchanged for tobacco or beads, skin bags for poisoned arrows, and so on. Trading [484] visits to other bands are also frequent. But the most common form of barter is with peoples of other races, especially the Bantu.

439 [184] [222] The !O Kung of Angola, unlike all the other Bushmen, do not go out into the veld to collect vegetable foods. These are obtained by barter. The younger men hunt, and trade part of the meat and skins obtained for the cereals, maize, potatoes, manioc, etc., of the Bantu among whom they live. Honey and wax are also collected and traded, sometimes with the Bantu for food and tobacco, now and again to Europeans for powder and cartridges. Wax is a good article of trade with Portuguese traders, and the Bushmen are therefore assiduous in collecting it. Besides foodstuffs they also obtain pots and baskets from the Bantu, as well as metal wares such as knives, arrow and spear heads, and beads.[1]

The Bushmen of the Okavango swamps, again, trade ostrich egg-shell beads, ivory, ostrich feathers, skins and horns with the inter-dwelling Bantu in return for tobacco and dagga, as well as iron and such iron goods as spear heads, hoes, and knives; while the Namib Bushmen exchange similar objects with Hottentots and Europeans for blankets, knives, tobacco, and coffee.[2]

438 Among the North-Western tribes there is a whole system of trade relations between different tribes, extending from the Okavango in the north down almost to the Molopo.[3] In this the Naron and the Auen play the part of intermediaries, obtaining from the tribes further north the objects they desire, and then bartering them again further south as occasion arises. Egg-shell beads and tobacco are standard [436] articles in this trade, in the sense that they can always be bartered and may even be said to have a fixed value. From the Naron the Auen 438 procure skin garments and bags, for the making of which the former 439 are famous, giving them in return wooden pots, dishes, and spoons

[1] D. F. Bleek, op. cit., 52–3; *idem*, "Bushmen of Central Angola," 108.
[2] Passarge, "Das Okawangosumpfland," 702; *idem*, *Die Buschmänner*, 118–19; Trenk, "Buschleute der Namib," 166.
[3] Passarge, *Die Buschmänner*, loc. cit.; Kaufmann, "Die Auin," 352–3; D. F. Bleek, *Naron*, 37–8.